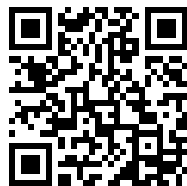

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Notes on St. Jerome's Tractates on the Psalms

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TO the eminent Benedictine Germain Morin we owe, among other debts, the establishment of a text of certain works of St. Jerome, some of them of a class not previously represented in that author's extensive writings. The so-called *Breviarium in Psalmos*, though included in the complete editions of Jerome, had long been considered as partly, if not chiefly, spurious, yet amid the mass of foreign material some fragments appeared genuine. The attention devoted to these fragments by Morin was rewarded by the discovery of two series of manuscripts, of which the one contains a collection of *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, the other certain sermons on the Psalms, *Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos*. The former are brief annotations, comparable to many of Jerome's other Biblical commentaries; the latter present to us addresses delivered by the saint to his fellow monks at Bethlehem. These two series are published by Morin,¹ with critical apparatus, introductions, and footnotes.

¹ *Anecdota Maredsolana. Vol. III, Pars I. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos. Edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena et indices adiecit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsoli, apud Editorem . . . 1895. Vol. III, Pars II. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium, aliaque varia argumenta. Partem nuper detexit, partem adulteris mercibus exemit, auctori vindicavit, adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsoli. . . . 1897.*

in which are collected abundant and convincing instances of similarity of thought and expression to other passages in the undisputed works of Jerome. For textual details the reader is referred to these notes and to an article published separately by Morin.² But the editor's work was not ended with the publication of these two series. In a note to the reader prefixed to the second series he says, "*Contigit, ut absoluto iam volumine novam seriem tractatum in Psalmos, eamque penitus ineditam, inopinato reperirem.*" This new series³ was published in 1903, and with it full indices to it and the part preceding. The authenticity of this work is likewise established beyond doubt by abundant parallelisms of style and subject-matter.

Having thus stated the case to the reader, I desire briefly to discuss some questions in regard to the method and the style of the three series, with the especial purpose of throwing some light upon the nature of the third series. Citations will be made to the parts of Vol. III of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i.e.,

I = *Commentarioli in Psalmos.*

II = *Tractatus in Psalmos.*

III = *Tractatus in Psalmos XIV.*

The numbering of pages and lines is that of the *Anecdota*.

The study of Jerome's style has been prosecuted chiefly by C. Paucker and H. Goelzer.⁴ Much material of the highest value to the student has been collected by them, but their work suffers from two important limitations. In

² *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. I (1896), pp. 393-434: *Les Monuments de la Prédication de Saint Jérôme par Dom Germain Morin. Macon, 1896.*

³ *Anecdota Maredsolana. Vol. III, Pars III. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos quattuordecim. Detexit, adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsolii . . . 1903.*

⁴ *De Latinitate B. Hieronymi observationes ad nominum verborumque usum pertinentes conscripsit C. Paucker. Editio adiecto indice auctior . . . Berolini apud S. Calvary, MDCCCLXXX. pp. iv + 189. See also many periodical articles by Paucker which are cited in the following work: *Étude lexicographique et grammaticque de la Latinité de Saint Jérôme par Henri Goelzer. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1884. pp. xii + 472.**

the first place, we are unable to trace the development of Jerome's style from the early period, when the influence of his Roman life and of his teacher Donatus must have been potent over him, to the later time, when, living at Bethlehem, subjected to many foreign influences, he could write, "*Nec mirum si me et absentem iam diu, et absque usu Latinae linguae, semigraeculum, barbarumque, homo latinissimus et facundissimus superet.*"⁵ In the second place, the fact that the *Tractatus in Psalmos* were still undiscovered gave the student no example of Jerome's *spoken* style as distinct from that of his *written* works. The first of these wants may perhaps yet be met by still more detailed stylistic study; as to the second a few general remarks may here be appropriate.

Jerome's style is always rapid,⁶ but in these sermons it is marked by an unusual swiftness. Short sentences succeed one another with the simplest sorts of connectives; unusual words and long periods are avoided; the enthusiasm of the speaker leads to frequent use of apostrophe, rhetorical question, and repetition. Again, from the simplicity of his language and his explanations of Scripture, it is clear that he is not addressing a learned audience, but one composed in large measure of those to whom he refers as '*simpliciores fratres.*'⁷ As was natural in the presence of such hearers, reproofs of vice and exhortations to virtue are much more frequent than in his purely exegetical works.⁸ These and other differences will appear more clearly in a comparison of the three series in order.

I

This series consists of a short *Prologus* and brief⁹ comments on 125 Psalms. The text and footnotes occupy one hundred pages in Morin's edition. In some Psalms several

⁵ Ep. 50. 2.

⁶ Goelzer, *Étude*, pp. 35-36; Morin in *Revue Bénédictine*, xix (1902), pp. 126 sq.

⁷ II. 53. 20: *haecreamus terrae propter simpliciores*; 54. 4; 116. 5: *Do exemplum ut simpliciores possint intellegere quod dicitur*; 124. 22; 211. 5; 225. 22.

⁸ A particularly interesting example is that in II. 116. 5 sqq.

⁹ Even as short as a single line of text.

lemmata are discussed; in some only one, or even none at all. The series is plainly a written work, for it is addressed to some unknown person who had asked Jerome for information on points in the Psalms neglected or not fully explained in the *Enchiridion* of Origen.¹⁰

The opinions of various writers are several times quoted in this series with no attempt on the part of Jerome to decide between varying views, e.g. I. 3. 4-4. 1: *Quidam dicunt . . . alii . . . aliter . . . denique . . . Aliter . . . Aliter . . . Aliter . . .* The '*simpliciores fratres*,' however, of II are ordinarily instructed as to which of several views they are to adopt.¹¹ So, too, the citation of various versions of the Psalms is in I very frequent, e.g. I. 67. 14-17: *Pro 'superbo' in hebraeo RAAB scriptum habet . . . quod Aquila 'impetum,' Symmachus 'adrogantiam,' Theodotion 'superbiam,' sexta 'tumultum' interpretati sunt.*¹² This abundance of variants is to be compared with the paucity in the *Homiliae* (II), of which I shall later speak.

Hebrew words and their interpretations appear frequently, e.g. I. 8. 18-19: *in hebraeo legitur NESCU BAR, quod interpretari potest, Adorate filium.*¹³ And Greek words, explained or unexplained, e.g. I. 3. 7-8: *πλεονασμοῦ esse vitium*; I. 47. 16-17: *Pro quo in hebraeo ita habet: ἐπινίκιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. I. 86. 4: *Pro desolatoriis carbonibus in hebraeo ἀρκευθίνους habet.*¹⁴ But though Greek words occur in large numbers in the homilies (II and III) addressed to ignorant men, we may explain their presence there by the fact that some of the auditors of those homilies may have been familiar with Greek, living, as they did, in an Eastern community. Moreover, many of the words are ecclesiastical terms, such

¹⁰ I, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ II. 1. 12 sqq.; 2. 4 sqq.

¹² Cf. I. 4. 20; 11. 11-12; 19. 2-4, 22; 21. 18-21; 24. 5; 25. 13; etc., in all about 40 cases in Series I.

¹³ Cf. I. 10. 15; 11. 10; 17. 21; 19. 14; 21. 1-2, 12, 13; 24. 14; 34. 9, 11; 50. 45; 52. 10; 66. 1; 67. 14; 69. 16; 83. 20; 84. 21; 90. 16; 92. 9; 98. 15; 99. 20, 21.

¹⁴ Cf. I. 2. 11; 5. 16; 12. 8; 15. 7; 21. 3; 25. 15, 22; 41. 3; etc., about forty cases in all in Series I.

as *anastasis*, *ascetes*, etc., which would probably be more or less familiar to churchmen who knew no Greek. See below, p. 114. In Series I, however, the Greek words are introduced chiefly from Jerome's interest in variant readings and textual interpretations, and indicate the author's expectation that this work would be read by educated men who would appreciate such details of scholarship.

With such readers in mind, it is not strange that in this series the hortatory element is rare. Moreover, the mention of various heresies to be avoided is rather infrequent. I have noted only the following instances: I. 13. 9-11: . . . *peribunt omnes haeretici, qui loquuntur contra Deum mendacium*; I. 80. 13-15: *Quod si nobis obponere voluerit haeresis Arriana . . . respondebimus ei . . .*; I. 98. 20 *sqq.*: *Adversum Novatianos hoc psalmo uti possumus*. In I. 7. 18 the Anthropomorphite heresy is censured. With this slight mention we should compare the frequent accusation of heresy in the following series.

If we turn for a moment from the subject-matter to some grammatical questions, — a few selected from many possible ones, — we notice between the various series striking differences. Nowhere are these more evident than in the constructions used in indirect discourse. The use of *dico quod*, *dico quia*, or *dico quoniam*, followed by a finite mood was evidently common in Jerome's time. Though apparently analogous to the Greek λέγω ὅτι, this usage is believed really to have arisen from the Latin colloquial speech,¹⁵ a theory certainly not contradicted by what I find to be the case in these three series under discussion. This construction appears through all the work of Jerome, but in his commentaries and written compositions it is only moderately frequent. In Series I, I note only —

indico quod + subj. 75. 23.
intellego quod + indic. 80. 4.
respondeo quod + subj. 83. 2.
scribitur quia + subj. 84. 16.

¹⁵ Dräger, *Hist. Syntax*, II.² § 379. Cf. Goelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-6.

Thus rarely do *quia* and *quod* appear, while *quoniam* is here entirely wanting in this construction.¹⁶ And this proportion of *quia* and *quod* agrees pretty well with that in most of Jerome's other writings. But in II and III I shall show the case to be quite different.

The occurrence of a few particular words in all three series may best be treated in this place. *Pulchre dixit*, found in II 15 times (in 315 pages), and in III, pp. 32-93, 12 times, is here absent. It appears then to be a phrase more characteristic of the spoken than of the written style.

The enclitic *-que* in Series I is about as frequent as in Latin of the classical period. In II it is confined to these phrases :

huc illucque II. 7. 24 and 8 other cases in II.

longe lateque II. 237. 22.

simulque II. 78. 2 and 8 other cases in II.

Quippe, a frequent word in the writings of Jerome, I have noted but once in II; ¹⁷ in I it appears 15 times. *Verbi causa* (in II 20 times) and *verbi gratia* (in II 12 times) are here wanting. They occur in Jerome's other works, but are by far most common in the homilies. Other words whose less frequent occurrence forbids generalization seem to point toward the same distinction between the written and the spoken style.

II

This series occupies, with footnotes, 315 pages in Morin's text. Fifty-nine Psalms are discussed. Though the notes are often very brief, yet the comment is seldom as short as one page for one Psalm. A few ¹⁸ by their brevity suggest some of the *Commentarioli*, but lack, for the most part, the scholarly point of view of that series. Others are more carefully finished, with more frequent use of Greek words and of rhetorical figures, but all have an audience clearly in

¹⁶ With the periphrastic form *notandum est, sciendum est, observandum est*, *quia* and *quod* are quite as frequent as the infinitive, or rather more so.

¹⁷ II. 306. 14.

¹⁸ Especially on Psalms 100, 101, 103, 104, 110, 135, 139.

view, as one may see from the abundant use of imperatives¹⁹ and other features of spoken style.²⁰ The nature of the average parts of the work may best be shown by an example, II. 307. 20 *sqq.* (an explanation of the lemma *Laudate eum sol et luna*):

Videte, gentiles; videte, Manichaei. Sol laudat, non laudatur. Laudate eum sol et luna. Vos solem deum dicitis. Ecce post quanta laudat. Laudate de caelis, laudate in excelsis, laudate angeli, laudate omnes virtutes. Deus vester in quinto gradu laudans ponitur. Laudate eum sol et luna. Non dixit, luna et sol; sed, sol et luna. Quod maius in lumine est, prius laudat. Videte ordinem visibilium. Laudate eum sol; post solem, luna; post lunam, omnes stellae. Omnes stellae; non tantum lucifer, non tantum maiores stellae, sed et minores pariter laudent Dominum. Dicat aliquis: Quomodo sol et luna et stellae laudant Deum? In eo quod a suo officio et servitio non recedunt. Servitium ipsorum laus Dei est.

In these sermons addressed to monks their life and its duties are frequently described, *e.g.* II. 116. 6 *sqq.*:

Si ieris in civitatem monachus solus, et coeperis deambulare, et audieris clamorem in circo, et aliquis tibi dixerit: Veni et specta, circus est; et coeperis ei tu dicere, Non licet, non possum ire: si ille tibi ostenderit infinita hominum milia, et dixerit tibi, Ducenta hominum milia ibi sunt: ergo illi omnes perituri sunt, et tu solus salvus eris? tu debes intellegere, quia symptoma diaboli est; hoc est, scire debes quia plures cadunt.

Or II. 231. 18-20:

*Dimisimus possessiones, dimisimus patriam, dimisimus saeculum; et propter calamum rixam facimus in monasterio.*²¹

These monks seem to have had little appreciation for the variant readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, for of these names, so familiar in Series I, only Theodotion is named, and he but once, and in such a manner as to show

¹⁹ *Vide; videte; audi, haeretice; esto; estote; habeto; habetote; cf.* II. 257. 16; also II. 41. 21-2; 200. 9.

²⁰ Cf. Morin, *Rev. Bénéd.* xix. (1902), pp. 140 *sq.*, where he mentions various phrases by which Jerome aroused to attention his drowsy auditors. The examples are from III, but are exactly like many in II.

²¹ Cf. 224. 26; 229. 10 *sqq.*; 284. 14; *et passim.*

that Jerome's hearers could have known little about him, II. 293. 25-26: *Denique Theodotion, qui unus est de interpretibus . . . ait . . .* The LXX is here, as elsewhere in Jerome, referred to freely.

In place of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion heretics here receive much attention. I give a list with the number of times each is mentioned: Anthropomorphitæ (1), Apollinaristæ (1), Arrius and Eunomius (9), Arriani (7), Macedoniani (2), Manichæus (10), Marcion (2), Montanus and the Cataphrygæ (1), Novatianus (1), Origen (4), Photinus (1), Tatianus, princeps Encratitarum (1).²² The Jews are constantly attacked.

Hebrew words are, in proportion to the length of this series, far less numerous than in I.²³ Greek words, as I have already said, appear frequently in II and III as well as in I. Many are ecclesiastical terms doubtless already partly or completely Latinized; e.g. *anachorita, anagoge, anastasis, archisynagogus, ascetes, baptista, catachumenus, chameunia, coenobium, diaconus, encaenia, idolatrae, laicus, Pascha, Pentecoste, Scenopegia, tropologia*, etc. These important words would be readily understood by Jerome's hearers, subjected as they no doubt were to considerable Greek influence. Indeed, that these homilies were delivered in Greek and translated by some friend or assistant of Jerome has been suggested by Morin, but the strong objections which led him to abandon this view are certainly valid.²⁴

Indirect discourse is, as I have suggested, a striking criterion of the style of these three series. I have noted in II the following cases of finite moods in indirect discourse. For brevity I shall omit the references, but state the number of occurrences observed. If no number is added, I have noted a single instance only.

²² This list is that of Morin's index *s.v. hæreticus*. To it should be added Porphyrius, whose views are twice censured, II. 60. 4 *sqq.*; 80. 15 *sqq.* This makes a total of 42 references to heresies in this series.

²³ II. 19. 13; 20. 7-8; 26. 2; 40. 17; 51. 14; 82. 16; 102. 14; 155. 8; 196. 6; 206. 13, 14, 15, 16; 218. 8; 219. 12, 13, 16-18; 235. 11. Eight of these words are nothing more erudite than names of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

²⁴ *Rev. d'histoire et de litt. relig.* I. (1896), pp. 427-429.

<i>cogito quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>cognosco quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>confido quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>confiteor quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>considero quia</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>credo quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>dico</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i>	9.)
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	7.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	9.
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	7.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	3.
<i>intellego</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i>	4.)
	(+ <i>pr. ppl.</i> , 241. 12: <i>intellegebat se diabolum</i>	
	<i>retinentem.</i> This seems to = <i>ōda</i> + <i>ppl.</i>)	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>lego</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i>)	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>memini quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>nescio quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>novi quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>nuntio quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>ostendo</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i>	5.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>promitto quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>puto</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i> very frequent; over 20 cases noted.)	
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	5.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>scio</i>	(+ <i>infn.</i>	3.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	13.

<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	13.
<i>scribo</i>	(+ infin.	2.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	3.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>video</i>	(+ infin.	9.)
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	23.

Aio, existimo, indico, invenio, nego, and suspicor I have found only with the infinitive.

No one can fail to be impressed by the frequency of the finite moods in this construction, especially compared with their infrequency in I. Moreover *quia*, which is in I found but once, and *quoniam*, there absent, are here abundant. In this connection it is of interest that Goelzer²⁶ cites but one instance of *quoniam* thus used in the works of Jerome,²⁸ and Dräger,²⁷ stating it to be rare, cites examples only from Lactantius, Cyprian, and Augustine. Is it too much to infer that it too is especially characteristic of the colloquial rather than the carefully written style?

I have attempted to discover the difference between the indicative and the subjunctive in this construction. A few cases might indicate that a distinction existed, e.g. II. 50. 11 sq.: *Et certe non est scriptum ibi, quia clamaret Moyses ad Deum: sed quoniam cor ipsius clamabat. . . .* But in the vast majority of cases the two moods seem to be used interchangeably, and the apparent distinction in the case I have cited may therefore be purely fortuitous. Cf. II. 40. 5 sqq.: *Et hos salvasti, qui non credebant quod possibile est Deum habitare in homine. . . . Isti qui antea non credebant quod possibile sit Deum habitare in homine.*

The forms of words also show in this series a greater

²⁶ *Étude*, p. 384.

²⁸ *Ep.* 147. 1 with the verb *ignoro*.

²⁷ *Hist. Synt.* II.² pp. 232-3.

tendency to vary from classical usage than is the case in I or in Jerome's other works. A few examples will illustrate this tendency:

- eo, fut. iemus*, II. 138. 22; cf. *perient*, II. 73. 11²⁸
imperf. exiebant, II. 170. 24, 25.
fugio, infin. fugire, II. 3. 21; 19. 7; cf. II. 74. 19, where
 Codex L reads *fugierat*.²⁹
ipse, acc. sing. neut. ipsud, II. 156. 8 (so C¹³⁰ and G).
iste, nom. sing. neut. istum, II. 301. 19 (so BGC').
maximus, comp. maximior, II. 310. 1.
porticus, abl. sing. portico, II. 139. 5 *sqq.*³¹
sedeo, fut. ppl. sediturus, II. 74. 26.

Examples of incorrect genders:

- caput, masc. or fem.* (cf. κεφαλή?) II. 267. 23 (so CSGI; *neut.* B).
flos, neut. II. 108. 21.
gladium, neut. II. 315. 23, 28.³²
vellus, masc. II. 141. 16 (so CG).
vultum, neut. II. 267. 25.

An interesting construction with the comparative, though found elsewhere in Jerome, is especially frequent here. II. 2. 1: *omne autem quod comparatur minus est ab eo cui comparatur*. Cf. II. 29. 13; 44. 17; 151. 27; 278. 4. Goelzer³³ cites *Ep.* 21. 41 and in *Dan.* 6 16, to which may be added in *Eph.* 5 22.³⁴ Rönsch³⁵ gives many examples from the Old Testament versions, and believes that the idiom is borrowed from the Hebrew. For the view that it entered Latin by way of Africa, see Wölfflin, *Archiv für lat. Lexicog. u. Grammatik*, vi. 448, vii. 125–129. The origin of this idiom is traced by the editors of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*s.v. a, ab*) to the separation-idea in the ablative with a

²⁸ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 287.

²⁹ Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 285, cites many examples of this conjugation.

³⁰ Which Morin regards as the best codex in respect of orthography. *Anecd. Mareds.*, vol. iii. *pars iii. praeformatio*, p. xii.

³¹ Cf. Rönsch, p. 261, *fn.*

³² So in ante-classical Latin.

³³ *Étude*, p. 336.

³⁴ See also examples in Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vii. 127–8.

³⁵ *op. cit.* p. 452.

comparative without *quam*. It may very well be that in the colloquial language this ablative was often reinforced by *a* or *ab*. In II. 165. 26–27 we find another comparative idiom: *serpentem, qui sapientior erat in paradiso prae omnibus bestiis*. For this see also Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vii. pp. 129–130.

Loose uses of the genitive case, which Goelzer³⁶ believes to be often of Hebrew origin, are frequent, *e.g.*:

tenebris erroris, II. 11. 26.

aura diaboli, II. 7. 27.

sol institutiae, II. 11. 26; 37. 8; 43. 9; 166. 11, 15, 22; *al.* Cf. *Ep.* 48. 21; 108. 12; in *Matt.* 17. 18.

sol iniquitatis, II. 37. 7.

filius doloris mei, II. 20. 4; and many others.

A considerable number of constructions borrowed bodily from the Greek should be noticed.

II. 104. 23–24: *quae interpretati sumus de ecclesia potest intellegi et in anima nostra* (the best Ms. reading), where Morin correctly recognizes the Greek construction of a singular verb with a neuter plural subject. Other examples of this are II. 70. 11 and 133. 11.

In II. 100. 25, if we accept Morin's attractive emendation, we shall read *qui populum eductus fuerat*, suggesting the Greek idiom *ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἐξηγησάμενος*. The text is, however, too uncertain for sure argument.

Conditional constructions suggesting the Greek. II. 44. 10–11: *Si enim esset nunc iudex, peccatores non erigebantur et in saeculo obtinebant divitias*. Cf. II. 7. 11–12; 168. 8; 170. 21–23; 233. 15–16: *Esau, cui multo melius fuerat si natus non fuisset*; 270. 17–18. Cf. also II. 47. 14–15: *O si et nos essemus equi Dei, et super nos dignabat Deus ascendere*.

Infinitive of purpose: II. 127. 29: *aquam dare bibere*; cf. II. 230. 14–15; *c. Iovin.* II. 17; in *Ez.* 40. 1; in *Os.* 1. 2; in *Matt.* 13. 10. II. 149. 9: *venit ergo iudicare*; cf. II. 171. 2–3; *Ep.* 22. 4. II. 41. 7–8: *submissi a daemonibus negare Salvatorem et blasphemare eum*.³⁷ Here may be noted a curious infinitive in II. 61. 1–2: *non habemus ubi requiescere*.

³⁶ *Étude*, p. 323.

³⁷ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 370.

Matt. 8 20 and Luke 9 58, which this phrase seems to imitate, have the subjunctive: οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει. Perhaps the infinitive here may be a colloquial idiom.

Double negative, II. 2. 24: *qui negat se peccatum non fecisse mentitur*; cf. II. 185. 1-2, though the reading there is not certain.

The preposition *ab* used with the genitive case, II. 198, 19: *a quorundam vocatur*. Rönsch³⁸ cites Luke 24 27: *et erat incipiens a Mosen et omnium prophetarum*; and Luke 20 46: *adattendite a scribis . . . amantium salutationes in foro* (προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων . . . καὶ φιλοῦντων ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς). In these two instances the solecism seems to be due to the interposition of other words, but in the example from Jerome the genitive follows directly upon the preposition.

Accusative of anticipation, a colloquial³⁹ and a poetical idiom in Latin, also found in Greek; II. 64. 17-18: *legimus decem tribus quoniam reliquerunt Deum*; cf. 68. 21-22.

A transition from the ablative absolute to the genitive absolute appears in II. 41. 10-11: *videntibus quingentis viris et omnibus apostolis et cherubim et omnium angelorum ascendisti in caelis*.⁴⁰

Dominor is here found governing the genitive (Greek ἀρχειν τινός), II. 47. 26-27; 189. 1; 269. 24; in *Is.* 54 4; also in Appuleius, Lactantius, and Tertullian. For some other unusual constructions with verbs, see II. 14. 12-13; 42. 18, and Morin's notes on these passages. II. 86. 22: *conmutavit divitias regni caelorum*. Here Morin suggests τί τινος ἀλλάσσειν. Parallel to the Greek λέγειν πρὸς τινα we find *dico ad, loquor ad*. II. 9. 6: *Dicit Deus ad Abraham*.⁴¹ II. 24. 9: *serpens qui loquebatur ad Evam*.⁴²

A very free use of prepositions is noteworthy, especially

³⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 442.

³⁹ *E.g.* Cic. *ad Fam.* 8. 10. 8.

⁴⁰ See Morin's footnote on this passage.

⁴¹ So in II. 11. 4; 38. 13-14; *al.* And in Jerome's other works, *e.g.* *Vit. Hilar.* 40; in *Matt.* 13 22; *al.*

⁴² Cf. II. 81. 12; *al.*; *Ep.* 122. 5; 180. 4; in *Is.* 19 1; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 329.

of *in* with the ablative, which expresses a large variety of relationships, e.g., II. 25. 16-17: *Nonus psalmus . . . grandis in versibus, grandis est in mysteriis*; 29. 28: *loquuntur veritatem in labiis sed non in corde*; 51. 2: *in misericordia ipsius delectatus sum*; 67. 20: *in Adam omnes nos de paradiso eiecti sumus*; cf. August. *Conf.* 5. 9: *omnes in Adam morimur*; II. 103. 14-15: *Sion salvetur in homine qui in ea nascetur*.⁴³

Credo in the sense of 'believing upon' is followed by one of three constructions: II. 38. 13: *quae crediderunt in Xpisto*⁴⁴; II. 6. 7-8: *credamus in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*⁴⁵; the third use, with the dative, is not found in II, but occurs in III. 86. 7: *quor non regnet in credentibus Christo*?⁴⁶

If one looks in these homilies for traces of one of the most characteristic Greek traits, the use of μέν . . . δέ, he will not be entirely disappointed. Those words seem to be here represented by the following:

quidem . . . vero, II. 1. 4-5; 173. 22.

quidem . . . autem, II. 148. 15; 156. 26; 272. 6.

quidem . . . ceterum, II. 181. 3; 290. 27.

quidem . . . sed, II. e.g. 124. 11; 144. 10-11; 161. 16; 174. 22; 177. 22 et passim; *Ep.* 54. 8; 121 *praefat.*; *Vir.* III. 65.

Some other peculiarities of idiom, not due to Greek influence, may be briefly noted. The use of pronouns is often careless.

ipse = *is*, II. 73. 10: *Iudaei inimici ipsius negabunt eum*; cf. II. 4. 14; 99. 7-8; 101. 14; 138. 5; 175. 23-24; 189. 18; 263. 8; *al.*

⁴³ Goelzer, *Étude*, pp. 346-8.

⁴⁴ Cf. II. 62. 16; 101. 5; 103. 8; III. 55. 18; 56. 20; *Ep.* 112. 12; c. *Vig.* 7; in *Tit.* 8 14; *al.*

⁴⁵ II. 22. 17; 24. 24; 43. 5; 47. 22; *al.*; III. 41. 4; 43. 17; *Ep.* 120. 9, 10; 121. 3; *Vit. Hilar.* 2, 14, 16; c. *Iov.* I. 7, 17, 36; II. 29, 32; in *Tit.* 1 2 3 5; in *Gal.* 3 24; *al.*

⁴⁶ Cf. I. 30. 7; 55. 5; *Vit. Hilar.* 25; in *Philem.* 19; in *Is.* 14 2. For all these three constructions, see Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 349. And compare the use of *spero* in II. 185. 30-32: *Aliquis speravit in imperatore, speravit in principe, in patre, aut in matre: in aliquo negotio subito subtractus est spiritus eius in quem ille speravit.* Cf. I. 47. 8; III. 13. 25; *Ep.* 121. 2; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 345.

ipsorum = *suus*, II. 125. 3-4.

ipse = *idem*, II. 14. 8: *ipsa est domus quae et templum*; cf. II. 23. 28; 49. 22.⁴⁷

iste = *hic*, II. *passim*. Often contrasted to *ille*, II. 5. 3: *qui non fecit illa et fecit ista*; II. 6. 4, 16; *al.* Often as the antecedent of a relative. So, too, in I. 30. 14-16.⁴⁸

The use of a positive adjective or adverb instead of a comparative. II. 174. 11-12; 222. 4-5: *Facile ruimus quam conscendimus*.

Carelessness in sequence of tenses, II. 19. 7-9, 9-11; 35. 14-15; *al.*

Transitive verbs used intransitively:

adoro, II. 158. 8: *adorare in Deum*.

considero, II. 163. 28: *non possumus istis oculis considerare in abyssum*.

inpingo, II. 97. 19-20: *ubi aequalis via est, ubi ambulare potest, ubi non potest inpingere*.

video, II. 56. 27-28: *Viderunt . . . contra terram repromissionis*.

In II. 157. 5-6 we have a remarkable use of *sum*: *non anteponebam aliquid Domino, neque consentiebam iniquitati; sed totus ad Deum eram*.⁴⁹

Verbs followed by cases with which they are not regularly associated:

indigeo + *acc.* II. 160. 20. (Anteclassical.)

misereor + *dat.* II. 79. 23; 96. 26; 97. 2 *sqq.*; c. *Pelag.* II. 15; in *Is.* 26 15. (Hyginus.)

noceo + *acc.* II. 226. 10; 237. 7.⁵⁰

The verbs *amitto*, *contemno*, and *perdo* are followed by the infinitive. II. 113. 1: *perdidimus esse filii Dei*; cf. II. 129. 6; 159. 10-11.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 406.

⁴⁸ Paucker, *De Lat. B. Hier.*, p. 82; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 405.

⁴⁹ Is this perhaps on the analogy of certain constructions in the Greek N. T.? John 1 1: ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. *Id.* 1 18: ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. Or perhaps Hebrew influence is here to be seen; cf. the use of the preposition *ב*.

⁵⁰ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 303.

⁵¹ *Id.* pp. 388-9.

Prepositional phrases :

de subtus medio + *gen.* II. 6. 11-12.*de medio* + *gen.* II. 6. 13.

Adverbial phrases :

in contra, II. 6. 13-14.*in semel*, II. 178. 5.*in secundo*, II. 180. 10.*de foris*, II. 6. 29-30; *Ep.* 125. 17; *Reg. Pachom.* 146.*e contrario*, II. 7. 8, 17; 9. 5; 20. 4; *al.* I. 95. 19; III. 8. 6; 18, 20; *Ep.* 48. 2; 54. 9, 18; *al.**ex secundo*, II. 7. 14-15.*de longe*, II. 160. 13; cf. *in Matt.* 26 ss: *a longe*.*ex tunc*, II. 191. 6-7; cf. *ex quando*, III. 78. 26; *ex inde*, etc.*de sursum*, II. 312. 29-30; cf. *Ep.* 22. 19. So also *de deorsum*, III. 33. 12; *Ep.* 46. 2.The preposition *in* with the wrong case :a) II. 8. 27-28: *Venit Deus . . . in paradiso*; II. 11. 27; 41. 11; cf. II. 21. 11; 49. 12; 67. 22; *al.*b) II. 66. 15: *mortui sunt et iacent in sepulcra*; ²² cf. II. 38. 8.

By these citations, selected from many possible ones, I have endeavored to give an idea of some of the stylistic features of Series II. Though in these instances parallels can sometimes be found in Jerome's written works, yet there is everywhere evident in II a far greater influence from the colloquial style than obtains elsewhere (except in parts of III). As to the method of composition of these sermons, we can perhaps form no certain conclusion. To suppose that Jerome wrote out before delivery all that we have here is to believe that he wrote much that was trivial and self-evident. A view more charitable to the ability of so great a man, and equally compatible with our evidence, is to believe that we have not his notes but the report (shorthand or otherwise) of a hearer, who wrote down, to the best of his ability, all that Jerome said, important or unimportant, but very likely lost entirely many utterances of some value while he was engaged in setting down ideas of inferior importance (a phenomenon familiar in the college lecture-rooms of our

²² See Morin's note on the passage. He believes this a Hellenism.

own day). The more careful and scholarly sermons may be due to Jerome's revision (improved by frequent erasure) of the reporter's copy. However committed to paper, Series II contains, in varying degree in its different parts, the strong influence of the spoken language, and stands in contrast in that respect to Jerome's ordinary work and to Series I.

III

This series contains comments on 14 Psalms, occupying, with footnotes, 93 pages in Morin's edition. Four Mss. are the basis of the text:⁶³

L. Medic.	S. XI.
M. Venet.	S. XII.
O. Vatic.	S. XVI.
V. Vatio.	1554.

Of the 14 Psalms 6 are contained in LMOV (82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 92), 3 in MOV (10, 15, 96), and 5 in L alone (83, 90, 91, 93, 95). In Psalms 87 and 88 the text of LMOV is followed in MOV by other short and unimportant notes.

I shall now, for reasons which I trust soon to make evident, divide Series III into two parts:

A (Psalms 10 and 15), pp. 1-31. 24.

B (the other 12 Psalms), pp. 31. 25-93. 23.

Part A finds its parallels in written work, rather than in the homilies. A quotation will best introduce the reader to its style. III. 16. 21 sqq.:

Quod quidem et Aquila διαπορήματα transferens, secundum morem suum simulacra significat. Nam in hebraeo dicitur ASABOTH, id ipsum verbum quod et ibi ponitur 'Idola gentium argentum et aurum.' Pono in eo quod ait προικισμένων, quod Septuaginta dixerant 'acceleraverunt,' videtur mihi sensum monstrare sublimem; quod apostoli sive gentium populus postquam ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, et Dominus illis sua peccata donavit (hoc est enim προικισμένων, quod προικία, id est, gratuito eis conversa sunt vitia), διαπορήματα, hoc est dolores in illis aucti sunt, scientibus in quam magni maris aquis fuerint et a quali barathro liberati sint; secundum illud quod in Ecclesiasti scriptum est 'Qui apponit scientiam apponit dolorem.'

⁶³ For a discussion of Mss., see Morin, III, *Praefatio*, pp. xvi-xvii.

A rather hard passage for the '*simpliciores fratres*'! But compare this with any passage in Part B and the contrast is striking, for Part B is in the same style as Series II. The difference between the two parts of this series has not, I think, been sufficiently appreciated by Morin, for he treats the series as a whole, and applies to that whole arguments drawn from Part B.⁶⁴ Let us look more in detail at the evidences that Part A is a written work.

As in I, so here, various opinions are presented and left to the reader's decision. III. 18. 6 *sqq.*: . . . *Sive aliter . . . Alius . . . sic interpretabitur.*⁶⁵ The expressions *videtis*, *vis scire*, and the like are here much less frequent proportionally than in II and III B, and where they occur⁶⁶ may easily refer to readers rather than to hearers. There appears to be in these pages no immediate reference to monks and their life. Such reference is not wanting in III B.⁶⁷

Upon the use of the word *supra* in the following cases I am disposed to lay weight. III. 1. 6: *supra plenius disputatum est*; III. 7. 4: *Pauperem: illum, de quo supra dicitur 'Tibi derelictus est pauper.'* Morin in footnotes shows that these references in the comment on Psalm 10 refer to passages treated in that on Psalm 9 (which comment we lack). But *supra* is a word appropriate to the written style, whereas *iam* would be the natural word if the address had been spoken. If in opposition to this it be said that a speaker might, in preparing his notes, say *supra*, and read this expression to his audience, I should like to call attention to what results here, if such a view be adopted. To be at all comprehensible to his hearers, the *supra* in a spoken address should at least refer to something already treated in

⁶⁴ Rev. Bénéd. XIX. (1902), p. 181, speaking of Psalm 82: *Multa sunt quae dicantur, sed hora excludimur: longum est enim per singula currere* [III. 34. 20-21]. *Ce trait, qui revient à plusieurs reprises dans cette seconde série [III] comme dans la première [II], montre clairement que nous avons bien là des discours improvisés, non des élucubrations de cabinet.*

⁶⁵ Cf. III. 23. 11 *sqq.*; 27. 10 *sqq.*; *al.*

⁶⁶ III. 15. 20; 16. 10; 21. 2; 25. 7; 27. 10.

⁶⁷ E.g. the long passage III. 78. 25-76. 32.

that address. Which would mean here that Psalms 9 and 10 were expounded at the same service. But Psalm 10 occupies about 10 pages of text, and if we assume that Psalm 9 had been treated with corresponding fulness, since it is a longer Psalm, we could scarcely assign less than 20 pages as the length of one day's discourse. Now this makes an extreme length if compared with the other homilies. In Series II the longest⁵⁸ homily has 13 pages; the next longest⁵⁹ 11. In Series III B the longest⁶⁰ is 8 pages. Such great length as 20 pages is paralleled in only one case before us, and that is in the case of Psalm 15, the only other Psalm treated in this Part A of Series III. It has the great length of 21 pages, and I believe it to have been, likewise, not verbally delivered, but written. But if *supra* occurs here in *written* work, then it is easily understood, as also in III. 10. 1: *ob supra dictas causas*.

The two Psalms contained in Part A differ in yet another noteworthy respect from those of Part B in that neither closes with an ascription. In B all but one of the homilies close with such words as: *Cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen*. And that one exception⁶¹ does not so close because it was to be followed by a homily on the Gospel, as we see from its beginning, III. 86. 20-21: *Antequam de evangelio disputemus, de titulo psalmi videntur nobis pauca dicenda*. In Series II the custom varies. Twenty Psalms close with ascriptions; one⁶² refers to the Gospel which is to follow immediately; 11 end with a more or less effective climax, often hortatory in character,⁶³ and 27 lack any formal ending. Of these 27 many are very short and plainly fragmentary. But in III B the usage is constant enough, and the ascription follows so naturally upon the mention of

⁵⁸ Ps. 119.⁵⁹ Ps. 108.⁶⁰ Ps. 88.⁶¹ Ps. 95.⁶² II. 27. 6-7.

⁶³ II. 86. 5-8: *Hoc igitur, quod apostoli dixerunt in principio, nos dicamus in fine. Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nos: inluminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri*. II. 139. 15-18: *Et nos ergo ambulemus in portico Salomonis, protegatur a maiestate eius, ipsius habeamus auxilium, et dicamus illud de Cantico canticorum, quoniam 'hiems pertransiit, et pluvia abiit, abiit sibi' in Xpisto Iesu*.

Christ in the preceding sentence that it seems unlikely that it is the insertion of a copyist. Consequently, its absence in III A is the more significant.

Several Hebrew words are mentioned in III A ;⁶⁴ in III B I find but one.⁶⁵ In Greek words and phrases Part A abounds, and almost none are ecclesiastical (more or less Latinized) terms, but rather readings of the different translators. Of these, in 31 pages, Aquila is mentioned 10 times, Symmachus 10 times, Theodotion 6 times, the '*quinta*' 4 times, and the '*sexta*' once. In III B the Greek words are very scarce,⁶⁶ and these interpreters are not mentioned at all. To heresies I find but four allusions in III A ;⁶⁷ in III B there are 17.⁶⁸

Of the explanation of the meanings of Scriptural proper names to those unacquainted with Hebrew there are many examples in Jerome, *e.g.* II. 84. 24-27: *Oreb interpretatur foramen, in quo coluber ingreditur; Zeb interpretatur lupus*, etc. This is perhaps more common in the spoken works than in those intended for more scholarly readers. So in I there are but 10 instances as opposed to 60 in II. Part B of Series III contains 17 cases, but in Part A there is but 1 instance,⁶⁹ and there the interpretation is merely used as a periphrasis for the person, who is not mentioned by name.

Indirect discourse. In III A (excluding the construction *-ndum est quod*) the following verbs are followed by a finite mood :

considero quod + *subj.* III. 24. 18 ; 26. 6.

doceo, III. 14. 18-22: *docemur quod . . . debemus: quia . . . non possumus.*

lego quod + *subj.* III. 16. 6.

noto quod + *subj.* III. 28. 7.

⁶⁴ III. 1. 13 ; 10. 19, 27 ; 12. 8 ; 24. 15 ; 27. 6 ; 31. 11.

⁶⁵ III. 68. 4.

⁶⁶ In III A (31 pages) I have noted 24 ; in III B (62 pages), 8.

⁶⁷ III. 6. 19-20 ; 22. 2-3 ; 26. 22-23 ; 28. 11-12.

⁶⁸ Arrius (1), Basilides (1), Manichæus (2), Marcion (2), Montanus (1), Novatus et Maximilla (1), Origen (who is not censured in III A ; cf. III. 23. 14 *sqq.*) (5), Sabellius (1), Valentinus (3).

⁶⁹ III. 20. 19-21.

repperio quod + *subj.* III. 13. 2.

scio quod + *subj.* A possible instance in III. 21. 3.

In all 7 possible instances of *quod*, 1 of *quia*, none of *quoniam*.
But compare with this the results of Part B:

aestimo quod + *subj.* III. 92. 18.

considero quia + *indic.* III. 92. 19.

credo quod + *indic.* III. 75. 4.

quod + *subj.* III. 74. 22.

quia + *indic.* III. 76. 29.

dico quod + *subj.* III. 36. 16; 47. 16; 68. 25; 77. 23.

quia + *indic.* III. 66. 2.

quia + *subj.* III. 53. 22.

intellego quod + *subj.* III. 68. 5, 26.

invenio quod + *subj.* III. 71. 29.

lego quod + *subj.* III. 69. 18.

nescio quia + *indic.* III. 75. 1.

novi quia + *indic.* III. 61. 7.

ostendo quod + *indic.* III. 87. 30.

quod + *subj.* III. 71. 24; 89. 9.

promitto quod + *subj.* III. 60. 19.

relatum est quia + *subj.* III. 74. 9.

scio quod + *indic.* III. 75. 14.

quod + *subj.* III. 74. 19.

quia + *indic.* III. 46. 15; 75. 24.

quoniam + *indic.* III. 62. 2.

scribo quod + *subj.* III. 49. 12.

video quod + *indic.* III. 37. 21; 46. 7; 49. 2; 50. 3; 73. 8; 79. 3.

quod + *subj.* III. 83. 28; 85. 28.

quia + *indic.* III. 40. 13; 88. 11.

quoniam + *indic.* III. 43. 7; 68. 19.

In all *quod* 26 times, *quia* 11, *quoniam* 3, or 40 cases as compared with 8 cases in A.

Moreover, in III B we have great carelessness in indirect discourse. III. 67. 16-18: *scire debemus, quod . . . undecim psalmos in hebraeo titulum non habere*. Cf. III. 73. 9-10. (In III. 24. 3-5, where Morin thinks that *ut* introduces an infinitive, I believe that the infinitive really depends on an *accipiendum sit* supplied from the *accipiendum sit* in line 3, in the same construction, depending on an *ut* in line 1.)

Solecisms and unusual constructions are not wanting in both III A and III B. I note a very few typical of the various sorts :

- III. 29. 2-3: *impleto illud quod Paulus ait.*⁷⁰
 16. 19: *cultus* used in plural.
 42. 18: *multis salutibus indigemus*; cf. II. 93. 27.
 20. 7: *eum* = *se*.
 71. 12: *utor* followed by the *accus.* So III. 50, 1-2, 4-5, *abutor*.
 76. 23: *adversarium triumphare quaeramus*.
 83. 20-21: *Mirantur homines philosophorum ac poetarum dicentium . . .* Where Morin aptly compares the Greek *τινὸς ἀγαμαί*.
 16. 3-4: *perago*, intransitively.
 66. 20-21: *postea sessus a Domino refrenatur*.
 24. 2-3: *renes nunc pro seminum locis accipiendum sit*; cf. II. 164. 4: *montes pro sanctis accipiendum est*. For the same construction in Boethius, cf. A. P. McKinlay in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii (1907), p. 127. Cf. also Lucretius, 1. 112. I believe this to be here a Latinization of the construction of the Greek verbal in *-τέον*.

Other examples may be found in Morin's indexes.

I have already stated that of Series III all the tractates are found in Ms. L, except those on Psalms 10, 15 (these two together forming Part A), Psalm 96, and the short notes appended to Psalms 87 and 88. These parts are found in MOV. With the rest of the collection which appears in L they may have nothing to do, but were doubtless added from a separate source to the common source of MOV. And the style of III A, while certainly that of Jerome himself, differs from that of III B so decidedly that I cannot believe the two parts to have been composed under the same conditions. The short notes following Psalms 87 and 88 are not in the style of those homilies, and clearly do not belong where they now are, since in each case, before the notes were added, the homily had already been terminated by an

⁷⁰ See Morin's citation of parallels in his footnote.

ascription.⁷¹ The homily on Psalm 96 presents no great contrast to the rest of III B, and belongs to Jerome's spoken work.

Returning to III A, let us try to place it more definitely. It is a written work, consisting of treatises on two Psalms (10 and 15) with a reference (the '*supra plenius disputatum*') to a comment on Psalm 9. Our two treatises clearly do not belong to the *Commentarioli*, for (a) the Ms. tradition is distinct; (b) they are much more extended discussions than are found in the *Commentarioli*; and (c) we already have a distinct comment in the *Commentarioli* on each of the Psalms in question. To what, then, does our work belong?

In the final chapter of his work *De Viris Illustribus* Jerome gives a catalogue of his own works. One entry interests us: *in psalmos a decimo usque ad XVII*.⁷² If we try to make III A agree with this last work of Jerome, it is only necessary, as far as the numbering of the Psalms is concerned, to notice that the numbering in the *Tractatus* (which Morin has followed) is that of the LXX and the versions derived from it, making our two Psalms Nos. 10 and 15; but if Jerome, in referring to this work, is using the numbering of the Hebrew (in which Psalms 9 and 10 were distinct, not combined into one as in the LXX), then these two Psalms will be not 10 and 15, but 11 and 16. And this latter numbering will readily admit of their falling within the limit *a decimo usque ad XVII* (or even *XVI*), and still leave a chance for the Psalm referred to in the words *supra plenius disputatum*, which will now become Psalm 10 (according to the Hebrew numbering).

The theory that the comment on Psalm 15 might be referred to this work of Jerome's occurred to Morin, who says: ⁷³

⁷¹ These notes also contain a suspiciously large number of unusual words: *perpetualiter*, *recuperatio*, *resuscitatio*, *saucio* I am unable to find elsewhere in Jerome; *derelictor*, *oblitor*, *profanator* are perhaps first used here.

⁷² Codex Bambergensis (S. XI) here reads *usque ad XVI*.

⁷³ *Rev. Bénéd.* XIX (1902), p. 130.

L'idée m'était venue un instant, que cette exposition du psaume xv pourrait bien être l'un des sept Tractatus sur les psaumes x-xvi que Jérôme s'attribue à lui-même, au dernier chapitre de son De Viris Illustribus: elle eût été, à ce compte, antérieure à la fin de l'année 392. Mais la considération plus attentive des particularités signalées ci-dessus m'a fait voir qu'il n'y avait pas à songer à pareille identification; notre Tractatus a été prononcé, comme les autres qui nous restent, une dizaine d'années après la composition du De Viris.

I confess that I am unable to find in the article from which I quote this the '*particularités signalées ci-dessus*' which induced the editor to reject so attractive a theory. And I hope that by the suggestions I have offered above in regard to the differences of style between III A and III B I have shown that there is no intimate connection between them, since one consists of spoken addresses, like the homilies of II, while the other is plainly written work, not dissimilar to Jerome's other written work. If, then, Part A must be separated from Part B, what more natural than to assign it to the Commentary on Psalms 10-17? Our two tractates internally require but one thing—the existence of a comment on the Psalm before Psalm 10 (of Morin's numbering). I have shown how this comment easily falls into the limits required by the numbers 10-17. In short, our work under discussion for which we need a title coincides so strikingly with Jerome's title for which we need a work that the probability of this identification approaches as near to absolute certainty as the nature of the case will allow.

The date of the work, according to this theory, can be roughly set as follows. It was written before 392, because it is cited in the *De Viris Illustribus* of that date. It was also written later than the book of *Hebrew Questions in Genesis*, as we see from III. 31. 11-12: *SABA enim verbum, ut in libro quoque Hebraicarum Quaestionum diximus, quattuor res significat*. This work has been assigned to the year 388, but Schanz, in his *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, will merely date it as prior to the *De Viris Illustribus* and during the saint's life at Bethlehem. G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, I, p. 101; II. pp. 61 sqq., dates this between 386 and 391.

As to III B, it is hard to determine the date, but from numerous references to the heretical views of Origen it must be after Jerome's revolt from Origenism set in.⁷⁴

I have tried to show briefly the kind of composition which appears in each of these series of tractates. The examples I have selected from many possible ones, often with some doubts as to just how much illustrative material to insert and how much to omit. I have endeavored especially to show the reasons we have for believing that III A is what remains to us of a work of Jerome hitherto supposed to be lost. If I have seemed to give disproportionate attention to Parts II and III B, it is because they furnish us the only criteria for judging of Jerome's spoken work, and it is only by differentiation of the spoken and written work that we can properly appreciate either, or understand the reasons for separating from Series III what I have designated as Part A.

⁷⁴ And see Morin, *Rev. Bénéd.* XIX (1902), p. 131.

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MEDICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE WORKS OF
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MEDICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE WORKS OF ST. JEROME

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

IN the eighth volume of the *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*,¹ is to be found a valuable article by Harnack upon the history of medicine and surgery among the early Christians. The limits of his discussion hardly include Jerome, and it has seemed to me worth while to bring together some of the abundant references to this subject found in Jerome's writings. The reasons for their frequency I shall later suggest; suffice it here to say that a large proportion of the allusions are in the form of similes or metaphors derived from the different fields of the medical profession. Casual mention of such figures is made by Harendza,² who, however, gives no hint as to their frequency; Lammert³ recognizes them as common, yet cites but a few examples limited to the *Letters*; but other references by modern scholars I have not discovered. In the collection which I have made there has been no attempt to distinguish sharply between historical or scientific references to medicine and mere metaphorical allusions, for the latter, to be comprehensible and cogent, must be based fairly closely upon actual practice, and though my concern has been mainly with the figurative uses, it has seemed desirable, for greater completeness, to include the literal cases as well.⁴ In the

¹ Heft 4 (1892), pp. 37-152: *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*.

² *De oratorio genere dicendi quo Hieronymus in epistulis usus sit*. Diss., Breslau, 1905, pp. 29, 31, 36.

³ *De Hieronymo Donati Discipulo* (*Comm. Phil. Ienenses*, IX, 2 (1912), p. 10).

⁴ I cannot pretend to exhaustiveness in this collection, since the field from which the illustrations are drawn is so extensive. Essentially all Jerome's extant works, however, except his translations and writings mainly lexicographical (such as the *De Nom. Hebr.*) have been drawn upon. The citations are given with the page numbering of Vallarsi (as reprinted by Migne) except for the first part of the *Letters* and for the commentary on Jeremiah, where the editions of Hilberg and Reiter respectively (*C. S. E. L.*, vols. LIV, LV, LIX) have been used. For the homiletical works citations are of course drawn from the edition by Morin in the third volume of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*. Certain spurious letters (Nos. 5 and 6

figurative examples, as will be readily understood, the comparison involved is the time-honored one between disease and sin.¹ A rough and not altogether satisfactory classification of the instances may be made under the main headings of the Physician, the Patient, and the Disease.

The Physician.² In more than one place Jerome attacks the medical practitioners gathering around the shrines of Aesculapius, in which the custom of incubation was still in vogue,³ and ridicules the supposed restoration to life of Virbius by the alleged god of healing⁴ who does not cure but destroy men's souls.⁵ Of course this is the reflection of that great struggle of the second and third centuries between the cult of Aesculapius, the pagan Savior, and the worship of Jesus, in the accounts of whose life physical healing had played a noteworthy part, a struggle of which the work of Origen *Against Celsus* is so important an evidence.⁶ Not alone, then, to the general attitude of Christians and to what might be called commonplaces of Christian argument, but in particular to Jerome's much-admired and frequently-used source Origen may we be led to trace not a little of what we shall find in the later writer. Offset to the pagan Savior is the Christian Great Physician, the *verus medicus*,⁷ *solus medicus*,⁸ *ipse et medicus* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXX, pp. 61-104) contain many medical allusions, but are naturally not here included.

¹ A comparison not limited to Christianity, but found in various pagan philosophies and notably in Stoicism (Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 286). Numerous references of a figurative nature to physicians, diseases, and cures may be found in such Stoic works as Seneca's *De Ira*.

² I shall not here list the physicians of whom Jerome makes mention in the *De Viris Illustribus* and elsewhere, for of them Harnack gives an account (*op. cit.*, pp. 37-50).

³ *Comm. in Is.*, xviii, p. 774.

⁴ *Comm. in Eph.*, ii, p. 619.

⁵ *Vit. Hilar.*, 21.

⁶ See especially Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-132.

⁷ *Vit. Hilar.*, 15; *adv. Ruf.*, i, 26; *in Hierem.*, iii, 77; cf. Weyman, in *Wock. f. kl. Phil.*, xxxi (1914), Sp. 413; *in Naum.*, p. 567; *in Eph.*, ii, p. 619; *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared.)*, III, iii, 97, 7 and note); cf. Aug., *C. D.*, iv, 16. And so in the Scriptures, according to *Ep.* 118, 1, 3, *vulnerum vera medicina est, . . . dolorum certa remedia*.

⁸ *Tract. in Ps.* 90 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 68, 8); cf. *Comm. in Amos*, iii, p. 325.

et medicamentum,¹ *verus archiater*,² *quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*.³ By an extension of the figure, not only Christ but also the apostles⁴ and even the prophets and great men of the Old Testament⁵ appear endowed with similar healing power, and we need not be surprised to find that to the prophets the term *ιατροί* had been already applied by Origen.⁶ With such divine and ecclesiastical support it was but natural that Jerome should look upon the medical profession and refer to it as one of dignity. Among the details of the physician's work mentioned by him are the visitation of patients⁷ and diagnosis (in which the examination of the pulse is especially noted).⁸ To the physician the patients must tell their symptoms if they expect a

¹ *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 338, 3-4).

² *Id.*, 337, 14-15. Cf. Origen, *Hom. 1 in Ps. 37* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 1369), where Christ is the *archiatros* of the medical art.

³ *C. Ioan. Hier.*, 38. In chapter 39 of the same work Isidorus is called the *Hippocrates Christianorum*. In the Latin translation of Origen, *Hom. in Levit. 8*, 1 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 492), we read: *Medicum dici in scripturis divinis Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*. And a little later: *veni nunc ad Iesum coelestem medicum*. Cf. also Origen, in *Exodum*, p. 114 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XII, 269): *ιατρος εστι ψυχης ο λόγος του Θεου, κτλ.*; Origen, in *Hierem.*, *homil. 11*, init. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXV, p. 839 Vall.).

⁴ Not only Luke (*Ep.*, 53, 9, 4; in *Philem.*, p. 763), but also Paul (*Ep.*, 22, 8, 3, on 1 *Tim.*, 5, 23).

⁵ *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 337, 15-16): *Medicus Moyses, medicus Esaias, medici omnes sancti; sed iste (sc. Dominus) archiater est*. In *Ep.*, 40, 1, 2-3, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, and Amos are called *chirurgici spirituales secantes vitia peccatorum*. Cf. *Comm. in Malach.*, p. 980; *Hom. in Is.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 97, 4; 97, 13; 101, 18-19).

⁶ *Hom. in Hierem.*, 14, 1: . . . διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ὁλοὶ εἶναι ἱατροὺς ψυχῶν, κτλ.; *id.*, 14, 2: ὁ λαὸς τοῦτον ἐκείνος, εἰ καὶ ποικίλοι νόσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ τῷ χρηματίζαντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπεμπερ αὐτοῖς ἱατροὺς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς προφῆτας. εἰς τῶν ἱατρῶν καὶ Ἱερεῖας ἦν, κτλ.

⁷ *Ep.*, 52, 15, 2: *nos, quibus animarum medicina commissa est, omnium Christianorum domos debemus amare quasi proprias*; in *Ezech.*, iii, p. 92; v, p. 169; in *Is.*, viii, p. 337.

⁸ *Commentariol. in Ps. 8* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, i, 21, 9; on the ability of the skilful physician to diagnose); *Tract. in Marc. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 337, 16): *Novit diligenter venas tangere (sc. Iesus) et morborum arcana scrutari*; cf. III, ii, 338, 3. Note also Origen, *Hom. 1 in Luc.* (translated by Jerome, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 249-250 Vall.): *ut . . . aestus februm in pulsum venarum sentiam*; and cf. Aug., *C. D.*, xxii, 30.

cure.¹ A regimen of diet² and appropriate drugs are prescribed.³ Those who do not follow the advice of the physician are suitably rebuked by him upon his later visits.⁴ The physicians had also their shops (*tabernae*), which appear in two of Jerome's *Letters*⁵ as synonymous with places of idle gossip, like the barbers' shops of antiquity and the present day. In the cenobitic establishments of Egypt Jerome tells us⁶ that a sick brother was taken to a more spacious apartment where he was attended by older brothers with such care that he need not miss the luxuries of the city or the affection of his mother. Of public hospitals (*νοσοκομια*) his friend Fabiola had established the first — at least the first of which he knew — and he relates with great fulness⁷ the devotion with which she collected the sick from the public squares of the city and nursed the most distressing cases of misery with her own hands. In another letter⁸ he speaks of equal interest, but perhaps a trifle less personal service on the part of the wealthy Paula.

More interesting and striking, for purposes of figurative comparison, is the life of the surgeon, and numerous are the cases of sins demanding from the spiritual healer methods as direct and often as brusque as those employed by the physical practitioner.⁹ Cutting¹⁰

¹ *Comm. in Ecdl.*, p. 474; *Tract. in Ps. 141 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 275, 9-11)*.

² *Adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11: *castigatis vivamus cibis*. In the *Comm. in Is.*, xiv (on ch. 52, 20), p. 598, he explains *beta semicocta* as *aegrotantium cibus*. In the *Comm. in Sophon.*, p. 686, he mentions *ptisanæ* or barley-water as given by physicians and prepared with mortar and pestle; elsewhere the giving of cold water to fever patients (in *Abacuc*, i, p. 591-592), and the use of wine for the stomach (*Ep.*, 22, 8, 3; cf. *1 Tim.*, 5, 23) are discussed. And compare what Galen is quoted (*Ep.* 54, 9, 4) as saying upon the subject of diet.

³ For these drugs see p. 80, notes 1 ff., *infra*.

⁴ In *Matt.*, ii, pp. 133-134: *sed quod in similitudinem medici, si aegrotum videat contra sua praecepta se gerere, dicat usquequo accedam ad domum tuam, quousque artis perdam industriam, me aliud iubente et te aliud perpetrante?* Cf. *Commentariol. in Ps. 2 (Anecd. Mared., III, i, 8, 1)*.

⁵ 50, 5, 1; 52, 5, 4.

⁶ *Ep.*, 22, 35, 7.

⁷ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 1-2. This account is followed by one of rather a modern tone in which he describes others who practise *huiusce modi misericordiam per aliena ministeria et clementes esse pecunia, non manu*.

⁸ 108, 5, 1-2.

⁹ Cf. p. 75, n. 5, *supra*.

¹⁰ *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 226, 25-29)*: *Si quando in corpore vulnus est, et in ipso vulnere iam putridae carnes sunt, et cancer est, et fuerit prius in-*

and cauterizing¹ are the two most frequent methods. These, with their variations, occur in Jerome's figures abundantly, and, as will be seen by reference to the instances cited, are often mentioned together. Indeed, this connection of the two, as was shown by Welcker in an article entitled "*Schneiden und Brennen*,"² extends, with a good deal of frequency, through all posthomeric literature. For the period later than that treated by Welcker there are some facts collected by Harnack,³ to which may be added two references in Origen.⁴ Obstetrical allusions are also not altogether absent.⁵ The instruments of the surgeon appear in a few instances,⁶ but too vaguely to teach much; in two passages bandages and their use are described.⁷ The methods of the surgeon are often rough but their apparent cruelty is regularly explained as due to kindness and necessary for a permanent cure.⁸

trinsecus: nisi apertum fuerit, non egreditur pus. Et si egressum fuerit pus, nisi cauterium fuerit, rursus renascitur pus. Cf. *Ep.*, 40, 2, 1; 52, 6, 1; 55, 5, 5; 109, 2, 4; 117, 2, 1; in *Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, vii, p. 276; in *Mich.*, ii, pp. 524-525; in *Sophon.*, p. 689; in *Gal.*, iii, p. 489; *Tract. in Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 11-14; 272, 22 ff.). Also in *Is.*, viii, p. 337; in *Osee*, p. 63; in *Naum*, p. 567; in *Malach.*, p. 980; and the amputation of diseased parts mentioned in *Ep.*, 60, 17, 3.

¹ *Ep.*, 15, 3, 2; 52, 6, 1; 55, 5, 5; 117, 2, 2; *Vil. Malch.*, 3; *adv. Ruf.*, iii, 20; in *Is.*, viii, p. 337; ix, p. 384; in *Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, vii, p. 276; in *Mich.*, i, p. 461; ii, pp. 484-485, 524-525; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 63; *Tract. in Ps.* 119 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 226, 28 ff.); in *Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 13); *Tract. in Is.*, i (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 8-9). The three references in *adv. Iovin.*, i, 5; in *Zach.*, ii, p. 871; and in *Eph.*, iii, p. 646, are based upon 1 *Tim.*, 4, 2.

² *Kl. Schriften*, III, pp. 209-217. And cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and n. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

⁴ *Hom. 1 in Luc.* (translated by Jerome, in *Migne, Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 249-250 Vall.); *Hom. in Hierem.*, 14, 1, fin.

⁵ For an especially important passage on childbirth see in *Ezech.*, iv, p. 147. Other references may be found in the commentary in *Ecd.*, p. 482; in *Zach.*, iii, p. 932. Cf. the details in *Ep.*, 98, 19, 2 (letter of Theophilus).

⁶ *Ferrum* (*Ep.*, 40, 1, 1; 55, 5, 5; in *Is.*, xvii, p. 758); *scalpellus* (in *Osee*, p. 63; in *Sophon.*, p. 689). And cf. *Ep.*, 112, 13, 3.

⁷ In *Is.*, i, p. 16 (suggested by a lemma from *Is.*, i, 6); in *Osee*, p. 61.

⁸ *Ep.*, 40, 1; 55, 5, 5; in *Is.*, ix, p. 384; in *Ezech.*, i, p. 8; ii, p. 64: *non parcat ut parcat, non misereatur ut magis misereatur*; vii, p. 277; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 61; in *Mich.*, ii, pp. 484-485, 515, 524-525; in *Abacuc*, i, pp. 591-592; in *Matt.*, ii, p. 116; *Tract. in Ps.* 140 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 271, 11-14). This commonplace is found in many writers, e. g., *Sen.*, *Dial.*, i, 3, 2; cf. ii, 1, 1; iii, 6, 2; *Tertull.*, *De Poenit.*, 10 (cited by Harnack); Origen, in *Matt.*, xv, 11: "καὶ τὸ λαομαί." et δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς

The Patient. Not all patients (sinners) in their illness realize their malady, and several of Jerome's comparisons deal with their attitude towards their physician (the Savior). Some disobey his orders;¹ some are unwilling to be cured;² others suspect that they are in danger of death³ and experience a depression of mind that doubles the effect of their physical infirmity;⁴ still more fear the physician or surgeon and the rigor of his methods.⁵ In dealing with this last set the skilful surgeon may hide his sharp knife, lest he unduly alarm the patient before he has had a chance to treat him,⁶ and he may also resort to justifiable falsehoods as to the patient's condition.⁷ The effects of the worldly station of the sick man are also noted; for illness has a certain degree of consolation if there be money to support it and furnish it with luxuries, but the combination of physical pain and poverty is doubly intolerable.⁸ Yet the illness of the childless rich, surrounded by dissimulating parasites who watch the sick man's every motion, is described in terms almost worthy of a Juvenal.⁹ The importance in sickness of a cheerful mind, by which the weakness of the body can be supported, is also recognized.¹⁰

The Disease. Important lists of common diseases are given by Jerome in two or three places,¹¹ and scattering references to single ones are frequent. Thus we find mention of fevers of different kinds and in different stages.¹² Poisons and their antidotes¹³ easily lend

ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ, ἵσταν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἰατρός ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ· ποιήσας δὲ ἀλγεῖν ὁ Θεὸς πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν. Also in *Exod.*, p. 125; *Hom. in Hierem.*, xiv, 1, *fin.*; and cf. *Clem., Strom.*, i, 27.

¹ Cf. p. 76, n. 4, *supra*.

² *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 97, 6)*.

³ *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 9)*. ⁴ *In Is.*, i, p. 15.

⁵ *In Is.*, ix, p. 384; *in Ezech.*, iii, p. 92; *in Matt.*, ii, p. 128.

⁶ *In Is.*, xvii, p. 758; cf. *Sen., Dial.*, v, 39, 4.

⁷ *Adv. Ruf.*, i, 18.

⁸ *Hom. in Luc. (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 378, 5-6)*. For the combination of illness and old age cf. *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 19-20)*.

⁹ *Ep.*, 52, 6, 4-5.

¹⁰ *Tract. in Is. (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 101, 26 ff.)*.

¹¹ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2-3; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 4; *in Eph.*, iii, p. 658.

¹² *Ep.*, 38, 2, 1; 39, 1, 4 (these describing the fever of Blesilla); 3, 3, 1; *Vit. Hilar.*, 14 (semitertian ague); *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; *in Mich.*, ii, pp. 484-485; *Tract. in Ps. 119 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 228, 8-9)*; *Tract. in Marc. 1 (Anecd. Mared., III, ii, 337, 9 ff.)*. Especially good in their description are *Comm. in Abacuc*, i, pp. 591-592; *in Matt.*, i, p. 45; *in Eph.*, iii, p. 644.

¹³ *Ep.*, 10, 3, 2; 117, 2, 1; *adv. Ruf.*, ii, 34; iii, 8; *adv. Iovin.*, i, 4.

themselves to figurative adaptations, as do wounds of varied sorts.¹ In the latter case it is often the healing over of the wound or perhaps some attempt to disturb the scab which is made the subject of remark. Gout,² perhaps rheumatism,³ and tumors⁴ are mentioned as though known to the writer by observation; the allusions which I have noted to leprosy,⁵ on the other hand, are mainly influenced directly by Biblical passages and show no first-hand acquaintance with the disease. Paralysis,⁶ headache,⁷ vertigo,⁸ perhaps insanity,⁹ and possession,¹⁰ dropsy¹¹ and humors,¹² nausea,¹³ jaundice,¹⁴ and various digestive troubles¹⁵ and pains of the eyes¹⁶ and ears¹⁷ are among the

¹ *Ep.*, i, 14; 3, 3, 2; 66, i, 1: *Sanato vulnere et in cicatricem superinductae cui si medicina colorem reddere voluerit, dum pulchritudinem corporis quaerit, plagam doloris instaurat*; 69, i, 2; 77, 5, 1 ff.; 79, 10, 1; 112, 13, 3; 118, 1, 3; 147, 9; *adv. Ruf.*, iii, 17; in *Is.*, xvi, p. 693; in *Ezech.*, i, prol.; *Tract. in Ps.* 84 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 44, 6-8); *Tract. in Is.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 102, 16-17).

² *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 12; in *Eccl.*, p. 491; in *Eph.*, iii, p. 653.

³ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2; in *Eccl.*, p. 491.

⁴ *Tract. in Ps.* 133 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 256, 20), and some of the references in n. 1, *supra*. Cf. also *Ep.*, 94, 1, 2 (which should probably not be included, being a letter of Dionysius to Theophilus).

⁵ *Ep.*, 94, 1, 2 (see n. 4, *supra*); in *Mich.*, ii, p. 524 (influenced by *Levit.*, 13); in *Sophon.*, p. 690 (influenced by *Levit.*, 14); *Tract. in Marc.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 367, 5 ff.; suggested by a lemma from *Mark*, 14, 3).

⁶ *Tract. in Ps.* 97 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 144, 18, referring to Christ's miracles); *Tract. in Marc.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 341, 6, with allusion to Christ).

⁷ In *Is.*, i, p. 15.

⁸ *Ep.*, 121, *praef.*

⁹ *Ep.*, 109, 2, 4.

¹⁰ *Ep.*, 42, 1, 3.

¹¹ *Vit. Hilar.*, 37 (a miraculous cure by Hilarion).

¹² *Ep.*, 78, 7, 4; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11. *Phlegmata pulmonis* are mentioned in *Ep.*, 52, 6, 4; *scrofula* in *Ep.*, 40, 2, 1.

¹³ *Ep.*, 121 *praef.*; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 39; in *Is.*, ix, p. 376; xiv, p. 596: *Solent medici amarissimam antidotum, quae ex gustu nomen accepit, dare stomacho nausienti, ut noxios humores evomat, et possit coctos cibos atque digestos in alveum transmittere quos phlegmatum magnitudo non sinebat, etc.*

¹⁴ *Ep.*, 77, 6, 2; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; on its cure in *Is.*, xi, p. 475.

¹⁵ *Ep.*, 33, 8, 3 (on 1 *Tim.*, 5, 23); 52, 6, 4; 68, 1, 4; 77, 6, 2; in *Iob*, 3 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, p. 626 D), describing the disease called *bolimiodes* (*bulimodes*?), *quae infirmilas talem habere dicitur poenam, ut ante cibum torqueatur aegrotus et sint ei post cibum indesinentes dolores*; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 4: *non torminibus et urinae difficultatibus torqueatur*; cf. *adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6; *adv. Pelag.*, iii, 11; in *Is.*, xviii, prol.: *ubi cibis sequuntur et morbi; ubi morbi adhibendus est medicus; ubi medici frequenter interitus.*

¹⁶ Cf. p. 80, n. 7; p. 83, nn. 5 and 6, *infra*.

¹⁷ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

maladies receiving notice, many of them in the form of similes or metaphors. The drugs mentioned as their cures include styptics,¹ (especially in the form of a powder),² poultices,³ and plasters.⁴ The latter were of different sorts, appropriate to the different kinds of wounds,⁵ hence the proverb, occurring in the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp,⁶ "Not every wound is cured by the same kind of plaster." In Jerome the same thought appears also in a different form, substituting for 'plaster' *collyrium*, or eye-salve.⁷ Ointments for wounds,⁸ cathartics,⁹ medicines to ease the throat,¹⁰ and antidotes for poisons,¹¹ are enumerated, but the most varied and interesting list is that found in the work *Against Jovinian*,¹² a passage discussed by Harnack,¹³ and too long to be here quoted. Many of the remedies there set forth bear more likeness to those described by Cato than to the less pic-

¹ *Tract. in Ps.* 127 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 238, 28: *vinum stypticum*). Hellebore also was apparently so used, or possibly as a purgative (*in Mich.*, ii, pp. 524-525).

² *In Hierem.*, vi, 7, 7; *in Mich.*, i, p. 461: *medici . . . urunt cauterio vel pulvere καυστικῷ*; *Tract. in Is.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 8-9); *in Gal.*, ii, p. 468: *mordaciori pulvere*; cf. Tertull., *De Poenit.*, 10: *pulveris alicuius mordacitate cruciari*; Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

³ Of figs: *in Is.*, xi, p. 475.

⁴ *Adv. Ruf.*, iii, 14; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 39; *in Ezech.*, iv, p. 161; *in Ionam*, p. 416; *in Gal.*, ii, p. 468; *Tract. in Ps.* 119 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 226, 14); *Tract. in Is.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 101, 9-10, 16); *Hom. de Nativ. Dom.* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 394, 17-18); and see especially Harnack's note upon this figure (*op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 1).

⁵ *Tract. in Ps.* 137 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 265, 20-21): *Qualia sunt vulnera, tale et inplastrum*; cf. *Comm. in Matt.*, ii, p. 93; *Ep.*, 84, 4, 3.

⁶ Ch. 2: *ὅτι πάντων τραύμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστῳ θεραπεύεται*. Compare also *Hier.*, *Ep.*, 84, 4, 3; Harnack, *l. c.*

⁷ *In Eph.*, prol., p. 540: *nec ad instar imperiti medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare*; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 5; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 80. Another reference to *collyria* is found in the work *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 38. Not only the disease but also the person must be considered, according to *Ep.*, 57, 1, 2: *pro diversitate personarum diversa de scripturis adhibenda medicina*. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, 1, 8, 2.

⁸ *Tract. in Marc.* 1 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 338, 15).

⁹ *In Hierem.*, v, 14, 3; *in Ezech.*, vii, p. 269.

¹⁰ *In Eph.*, iii, p. 562.

¹¹ Cf. p. 78, n. 13. *supra*.

¹² ii, 6.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

turesque ones of a more modern *materia medica*.¹ The abuse of poisonous drugs intended by medicine for curative purposes is compared by Jerome² to the abuse of the Law.

I am, of course, aware that the passages thus far cited may be paralleled in other writers, and that the figurative use made by Jerome of these different medical features may seldom be original, yet the great abundance of such allusions in a non-medical writer seems worthy of comment, and an attempt to account for them not unreasonable.

In the first place it is clear that Jerome had himself read more or less in medical books. For not only are vague references to such made,³ but on the subject of animal and vegetable remedies he invites⁴ the reader to consult the works of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Marcellus Sidetes (author of a work called *λατρικά*), and 'our Flavius';⁵ also Pliny, Dioscorides, and others, both scientists⁶ and medical writers. Yet these are not his medical favorites, for it is to Hippocrates as the type of the physician that he likens Christian healers.⁷ The oath which Hippocrates exacted from his pupils,⁸ his allopathic principles,⁹ and his physical theories,¹⁰ are known to Jerome,

¹ For other remedies see also *Comm. in Zach.*, iii, p. 932.

² *Ep.*, 121, 8 (p. 871 Vall.). For poisons given for medicinal purposes we should perhaps compare *adv. Ruf.*, i, 1, but the text is as yet too uncertain to allow its use as evidence.

³ *Tract. in Ps. 15 (Anecd. Mared., III, iii, 22, 13 ff.)*: *Nam quantum in memoria mea est, nec apud philosophorum quempiam nec apud rhetorum, nec apud poetas, nec apud quidem medicos, qui naturae corporum scientiam repromittunt, umquam legisse me novi, renes pro intellectibus et profunda cogitatione positos.* Cf. *adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6: *omnes medicorum declarant libri; quos si legeris, videbis, etc.*

⁴ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

⁵ On whom see Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁶ *Physicos.*

⁷ *C. Ioan. Hier.*, 38: *quasi spiritualis Hippocrates*; in the same work, ch. 39, Isidorus is called 'the Hippocrates of the Christians.' His name is also used as a type of the physician in *Ep.*, 125, 16.

⁸ *Ep.*, 52, 15, 2.

⁹ *Ep.*, 121, *praef.*: *iuxta Hippocratem, contrariorum contraria esse remedia*; probably cited, as Lübeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, p. 103, thinks, from Galen. Cf. the figurative use made of this same doctrine in *Sen., Dial.*, xii, 2, 2.

¹⁰ *In Ezech.*, i, p. 11.

and a long extract from his *Aphorisms* is given in the tractate *Against Jovinian*,¹ though, as Lübeck recognizes,² through the medium of Galen, of whose *πρωτρεπτικός λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας (Exhortatio medicinae)*,³ *περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας*,⁴ *περὶ κρίσεων ἡμερῶν*,⁵ *Ἱπποκράτους ἀφορισμοὶ καὶ Γαλήνου εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνήματα*,⁶ *πρὸς Θρασύβουλον*,⁷ *περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως*,⁸ and *ὑγιεινῶν λόγοι*,⁹ he makes direct and very important use. The passages in Galen which have been collected by Lübeck,¹⁰ need not here detain us.

Doubtless from such sources as these he had derived his information that medicine is divided into three parts: *δόγμα, μέθοδος, ἐμπειρία*.¹¹ Whatever may be the theories,¹² the empirical side of medicine is of value, — *non spernendam esse medicinam quae usu constet et experimento: quia et hanc fecerit Deus*.¹³ Items of physiological¹⁴ and psycho-

¹ ii, 11.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 99. Another reference, not noted by Lübeck, is perhaps to be seen in *Ep.*, 84, 7, 5: *aiunt et medici grandes morbos non esse curandos, sed dimittendos naturae, ne medella languorem exasperet*, with which compare the rather similar view attributed by Augustine (*C. D.*, xxii, 8, p. 600, 15 Hoffmann) to Hippocrates.

³ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 11.

⁴ *Ep.*, 102, 2, 1.

⁵ *In Amos*, ii, p. 283.

⁶ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 11.

⁷ *Ep.*, 52, 11, 4. The quotation is here of a verse from Attic comedy (Kock, III, p. 613, fr. 1234), but Jerome's direct use of Attic comedy is very slight (see Lübeck, pp. 18-19), so that Lübeck is doubtless right (p. 103, n. 1) in here finding Jerome's source in Galen.

⁸ *Adv. Iovin.*, ii, 6.

⁹ *Ep.*, 54, 9, 4; 121, *praef.* (cf. p. 81, n. 9, *supra*).

¹⁰ Pp. 100-104.

¹¹ *Adv. Pelag.*, i, 21. Cf. the translation by Rufinus of Origen, in *Ep. ad Rom.*, v, 4: *ille dicitur medicus qui usum ac studium ac disciplinam habet medendi*. And cf. n. 13, *infra*.

¹² The comparative uselessness of mere theoretical knowledge of medicine is expressed by Origen, in a work translated by Jerome himself, *Hom. in Luc.* 1 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXVI, pp. 222 C-223 A): *Scientia geometriae finem habet ipsam tantum scientiam atque doctrinam. Alia vero scientia est, cuius finis opus exigit: velut in medicina oportet me rationem et dogmata scire medicinae, non ut tantummodo noverim quid debeam facere, sed ut faciam, id est, ut secem vulnera, victum moderatum castigatumque disponam, etc. . . . Quae si quis tantum scierit, et non opere fuerit subsecutus, cassa erit eius scientia*.

¹³ *In Is.*, xi, p. 475.

¹⁴ For example the passage on the physiology of the digestion (*in Matt.*, ii, p. 114), and that on the symptoms of pregnancy (*Ep.*, 98, 19, 2).

logical¹ knowledge at times crop out, and in general his attitude towards medicine and cures is a fairly scientific one.² A prominent exception must be made in regard to the miraculous cures ascribed to Hilarion in his life of that saint,³ but the nature and probable purpose of that biography are, of course, decidedly different from those of most of his other writings.⁴

A second important factor in his interest in medicine is, I believe, to be found in his personal experiences and those of his friends. His own life seems to have been one of much illness, though aside from several references to troubles with his eyes,⁵ brought on, as he says, by excessive reading,⁶ he is in most cases not very definite as to its causes or nature. In 373 he writes⁷ of his journey through Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia (or Cappadocia), and Cilicia, amid great heat, finally ending in Syria, where, he says, "I suffered all the diseases that there could be."⁸ In the sixth letter,⁹ written between 374 and 379, he mentions "uninterrupted sickness, both of body and soul;" in 386-387¹⁰ on account of weakness of his eyes and of his whole body he cannot write with his own hand; later, in 398,¹¹ by reason of long continued illness he has been prevented from the writing of a commentary requested by a friend; in 406,¹² after a very severe illness, he is again unable to endure the toil of writing with his own hand; and,

¹ *Tract. in Ps. 15* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 22, 13-17), on the seat of intelligence; also *Tract. in Is. 1* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 102, 5 ff.); in *Ezech.*, vii, p. 245: *naturale est enim ut timore cogente vesica laxetur.*

² Yet physicians labor in vain without the aid of the Lord (*in Is.*, viii, p. 352), and recovery is assisted by the prayers of friends (*in Is.*, xiv, *prol.*).

³ Ch. 13 ff.

⁴ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, pp. 80-83.

⁵ *Ep.*, 21, 42; *in Gal.*, iii, p. 485.

⁶ *Prol.* to translation of Origen's *Homilies on Jeremiah* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXV, p. 584), written, according to Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, as early as 379-381. Grützmacher's table of dates (Vol. I, pp. 99-102) I have followed in this part of my discussion.

⁷ *Ep.*, 3, 3, 1; cf. 3, 1, 2; 3, 2, 3; 4, 1, 2; 4, 2, 2. Pronberger, *Beiträge zur Chronologie des hl. Hier.* (Amberg, 1913), dates *Epp.* 3 and 4 in 374.

⁸ *Quicquid morborum esse poterat expertus.*

⁹ 6, 1, 2. Pronberger, *op. cit.*, dates this letter in 375.

¹⁰ *In Gal.*, iii, p. 485.

¹¹ *In Matt.*, *prol.*, p. 8.

¹² *In Amos*, iii, *prol.*, pp. 309-310.

finally, in the *Commentary on Isaiah*¹ he tells of his recovery from an illness, aided by the prayers of Eustochium.² Such a series of references, extending over many years, will make one realize that physical weakness and pain was for Jerome a very vivid experience,³ and will, I believe, help much in accounting for the medical bent of his mind. It is interesting to note that Jerome himself, in a somewhat similar way, seeks to explain⁴ certain references to physical weakness by St. Paul, by supposing an illness of Paul at his first coming among the Galatians, mentioning a tradition that Paul frequently suffered from severe headache. Doubtless the sicknesses and deaths of his friends, of whose *epitaphia* the *Letters* contain so noteworthy a series,⁵ also contributed something to these experiences of Jerome.

A final and very important factor in accounting for these references is that which I have already mentioned, namely, the inheritance, from various sources,⁶ but probably especially from Origen,⁷ of certain traditional medical similes and metaphors. The subject in its earlier aspects has been so skilfully handled by Harnack⁸ that further treatment is unnecessary; one comparison, however, which seems not without interest, I may be allowed to suggest.

If one examine a large bulk of Greek and Latin literature, from its earliest period onward, he will be likely to notice the very natural

¹ xiv, *prol.*, dated by Grützmacher before 398.

² A reference to illness which prevented his preaching is found in the *Tract. in Ps. 7* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 17, 16), of uncertain date.

³ *Si non aliquis aegrotat, nescit quantum valet sanitas*, says Jerome (*Tract. in Ps. 136* (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 262, 22)).

⁴ *In Gal.*, ii, p. 460.

⁵ 23 (on Lea), 24 (Asella), 39 (Blesilla), 60 (Nepotianus), 66 (Paulina), 75 (Lucinus), 77 (Fabiola), 108 (Paula), 127 (Marcella).

⁶ A striking passage from Cyprian (*De Lapsis*, 14, quoted by Harnack, pp. 137-138), an author not infrequently mentioned by Jerome with great respect, contains many points of likeness to some of the passages which we have discussed. It should be noted that Jerome's medical figures in their precise form are, in large measure, not taken from the healing miracles of Christ or from the New Testament at all, but are traceable to classical or patristic sources.

⁷ A more thorough examination of Origen than I have made would probably reveal, in a much more striking manner, the dependence of certain of Jerome's figures upon him and upon earlier writers through him.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, especially pp. 129 ff.

frequency of figures of speech drawn from the life and activities of the principal trades and professions, such as those of the general, the farmer, the sailor, and (despite the low esteem in which he was early held at Rome), the physician. References to the mariner are in Jerome very frequent and have received insufficient notice;¹ they concern themselves chiefly with storm and shipwreck,² and the safe arrival in port,³ with some on other features of the life of the sea.⁴ May not Jerome's own journeys, in an age when any voyage was likely to be uncomfortable if not perilous, have stimulated his interest in such figures which were already well established as recognized literary ornaments? Yet here also, as in the matter of medical figures, we may seek, not perhaps for models, but for suggestions, in the New Testament, the forms of thought of which so pervade all Jerome's works. As various incidents in the life of Jesus readily and inseparably associated themselves with the art of healing, so not a few others — and some striking ones among them — were closely connected with the life, activities, and perils of those who go down to the sea in ships. Of St. Paul's allusions to shipwreck it is hardly necessary to speak.⁵ A study of the various metaphors and similes connected with the

¹ Harendza, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

² *Ep.*, i, 2, 2 (an elaborate account); 14, 6, 2-3; 22, 38, 1; 57, 12, 2; 77, 6, 1; 108, 27, 1; 123, 16; 125, 2; 127, 11; *adv. Iovin.*, i, 36; *c. Ioan. Hier.*, 30, 37; *adv. Ruf.*, ii, 15; *adv. Pelag.*, i, 12; iii, 11; *in Eccl.*, pp. 393, 419; *in Is.*, vi, pp. 245, 246; vii, p. 285; xiii, p. 561; xiv, pp. 577-578; *in Ezech.*, viii, p. 308; xi, p. 456; xii, p. 499; xiv, p. 602; *in Amos*, i, p. 224; *in Ionam*, pp. 396-397; *in Naum*, p. 549; *in Malach.*, p. 967; *in Gal.*, i, p. 375; *in Eph.*, ii, p. 617; *in Tit.*, p. 716; *Tract. in Ps.* 93 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 132, 23); *in Ps.* 92 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 79, 26 f.). See n. 4, *infra*. For the phrase *in portu naufragium* cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 284. The proverb *post naufragium tabula* is a favorite: *Ep.*, 84, 6, 3; 117, 3, 2 (cf. 122, 4); 130, 9 (cf. 147, 3); *in Is.*, ii, p. 56; cf. *in Hierem.*, iii, 60, 3; iv, 32, 3; *in Ezech.*, v, p. 183; *Tract. in Ps.* 95 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, ii, 134, 10); *in Ps.* 95 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, iii, 87, 14), and Tertullian's phrase (*De Poenit.*, 12): *planca post naufragium*.

³ *Ep.*, i, 2, 2; 2, 1, 4; 3, 3, 1; 43, 3, 1; *in Osee*, iii, *prol.*, pp. 109-110; *in Mich.*, i, p. 443.

⁴ *Ep.*, 3, 2, 3; 10, 3, 3; 14, 10, 1; 15, 2, 2; 53, 11, 2; 64, 22, 2; 82, 1, 2; 117, 3, 3; 123, 3; 123, 14; 125, 3; 128, 3; *in Is.*, vii, p. 285; xiii, pp. 534-535. Some of the examples in this note and in n. 2, *supra* might well be subdivided to illustrate certain proverbial forms.

⁵ Yet cf. p. 84, n. 6, *supra*.

sea and its life in early Christian literature, from the time of the Gospels, showing the application of those figures to the vicissitudes of moral and religious experience, would be not without interest.

In any event, it appears to me certain that Jerome found these two groups of figures, each well established in classical literature, approved by Gospel example, and made vivid by personal experience, and each in itself involving crises and contrasts of storm and calm, especially significant for the description and illustration of spiritual truths.¹

¹ Other medical allusions not hitherto noted are the following: *Ep.*, I, 14; 3, 5, 1; 60, 15, 1; 77, 5, 1-2; 98, 23, 2, and 98, 24, 1-3 (in the letter of Theophilus); 118, 1, 3; 119, 10, 2; 122, 1; 125, 14; *adv. Ruf.*, I, 18; II, 4; in *Eccl.*, pp. 444, 445; in *Is.*, I, p. 14; in *Hierem.*, II, 31, 1; II, 55, 2; III, 50; VI, 7, 7; in *Ezech.*, V, p. 171; X, p. 397; XII, p. 492; in *Dan.*, p. 676; in *Osee*, pp. 42, 129; in *Mich.*, II, p. 525; in *Gal.*, *prol.*, pp. 367-368; III, p. 519; *Tract. in Ps.* I (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, II, 7, 1); in *Ps.* 15 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, III, 27, 7); in *Ps.* 93 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, III, 85, 15); in *Ps.* 96 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, III, 92, 10); in *Ps.* 108 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, II, 187, 9); in *Ps.* 133 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, II, 257, 10); in *Ps.*, 136 (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, II, 263, 7); *Tract. in Is.* I (*Anecd. Mared.*, III, III, 100, 21).



